1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

The establishments of chiefs as a rule boasted a considerable number of servants, usually kinsmen of inferior rank, who for the most part resided in houses within the chief's enclosure.

The husband is considered the head of the immediate family, even though the wife be superior in rank. In Tonga, as elsewhere, disposition naturally plays a part in the relations of husband and wife.

In many Tongan families, husband and wife are blood relatives, for cross-cousin marriage was practiced, especially among people of rank. The genealogy of the Ata Islanders (p. 281) shows 10 first-cousin marriages out of 26 marriages of relatives. This probably gives a somewhat exaggerated idea of the prevalence of marriages of blood relatives in the rank and file of the Tongan population. Nevertheless, such marriages were no doubt common.

Fison's description of a nagging wife (24, p. 65) is not typical, for in general, domestic quarrels are rare. Mariner (40, vol. 2, pp. 92, 169) mentions the absolute power which every man holds in his own family:

> . . . . for even if his wife be of superior rank, he is nevertheless of higher authority in all domestic matters, and no woman entertains the least idea of rebelling against that authority; and if she should, even her own relations would not take her part, unless the conduct of her husband were undoubtedly cruel. . . . If a woman not a noble is the wife or daughter of a mataboole, she ranks as a mataboole; if she be a noble, she is superior in rank to him, and so are the children male and female; but in domestic matters she submits entirely to his arrangements; notwithstanding this, however, she never loses the respect from her husband due to her rank, that is to say, he is obliged to perform the ceremony of *mo'ē-mo'ē* before he can feed himself. If the husband and wife are both nobles of equal rank, the ceremony of *mo'ē-mo'ē* is dispensed with; but where there is any difference the inferior must perform this ceremony to be freed from the *tăboo*. If a woman marries a man higher in rank than herself, she always derives additional respect on that account; but a man having a wife who is a greater noble than himself acquires no additional respect from this source, but he has the advantage of her larger property.

A man might anciently divorce his wife by merely telling her to go. Young children of divorced parents go with the mother.

Married people of both sexes are referred to as *alafia* (untouchable), a word used particularly by young men in reference to young married women.

There were no family names in the sense of European patrilineal surnames. Such surnames have been introduced, however, at the Tongan government college, where young men are registered with their fathers' names as surnames. Tongan informants frequently give place names, but state, however, that such names changed with change of residence. Obviously, these are not family names in the true sense.

With regard to the relations of old and young, Wilson (65, pp. 348, 385) compares the customs of Tongatabu with those of Tahiti:

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

> At Tongataboo we noticed just the very reverse: in the presence of the aged the younger persons observed the most respectful silence. . . .
>
> In the Friendly Islands marriage is general, and, except the chiefs, they seem to have only one wife. It is said at Tongataboo, that adultery is punished with death. There, and at the Marquesas, no infant murders are allowed; but, contrariwise, they are fond of their children, and take pleasure in a numerous family. Though at the decease of Tibo Moomôoe [Tui Kanokupolu Mumui], and during his illness, some cruel and inhuman practices are mentioned, yet nothing comparable with the horrible human sacrifices at Otaheite. In another feature also they differ, as old age is as much respected at Ohitahoo and Tongataboo as it is neglected at Otaheite.

Elsewhere (66, p. xlix) Wilson remarks: "The women were far less immodest [than those of Eastern Polynesia]; but the men were more generally addicted to the pepper-root draught, here called kava."

The manner in which an establishment set up by a newly married couple may be augmented is illustrated by the following example. When a Hihifo (western Tongatabu) chief married a Hahake (eastern Tongatabu) woman, some of the wife's relatives came to live with the couple at their home in Hihifo. When a child was born still more came. They would look after the pigs, and the plantations. They did more for the couple than did the husband's relatives, although they too were supposed to aid. This is a manifestation of the superiority of the husband's side of the family to the wife's.

RANK WITHIN THE FAMILY

Rank within the Tongan family involves two fundamental factors, sex and age. Of the two, sex is unalterable and may transcend age. A woman is always superior in rank to her brother regardless of seniority and it follows from this that a woman's children are always superior to her brother's children. After sex, relative age becomes the determinant for rank. Generally speaking, older sisters outrank younger sisters and older brothers outrank younger brothers.

The father's side of the family is the chiefly (*eiki*) side, the mother's side of the family the commoner (*tua*) side.

A child must respect his father and his father's brother who are in many ways tapu to him; but to his father's sister (*mehekitanga*) he must pay even greater respect. It is she who is really supreme in the family. Her person, food, clothes, and bed are tapu; she often controls the matrimonial destinies of her brother's children. The respect which is shown her is extended also to her husband. In other words, a man marrying a woman has the same sort of social superiority to his wife's brothers that the woman herself has. It is the woman's relatives who frequently serve her and her husband. A striking example of this principle is revealed in a curious practice. While eating, the people of Niuafoou Island turn their backs to

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Tofua, Late, and Ata Islands]

Early voyagers speak of Tofua as inhabited. An old woman, living on Kotu Island in 1920, was the last inhabitant of Tofua. She was removed by force by her relatives, who feared she was becoming too old to care for herself and that the dogs might eat her if she became disabled.

Late Island, a volcanic cone lying west of the coralline Vavau group, was formerly inhabited. The Late people and their descendants now live on Hunga Island in the Vavau group. Late served at times as a place of refuge for political exiles. Fukofuka, a Vavau chief, who incurred the disfavor of a great Vavau chief, presumably Ulukalala, fled there and sought in vain to oppose the troops sent for him.

The people of Late seem to have had a quarrel of long standing with the people of Moungaone Island, in Haapai, for each group seems to have attacked the other at times. The fortress of Amaka on Late was built for refuge against Moungaone raids. The chief of Late bore the title of Totolate. There is one at present. He was appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu.

ATA ISLAND

My data as to the settling of outlying islands are by far the fullest for Ata Island, lying about ninety miles south of Tongatabu and in latitude 22° 20′, almost at the tropic of Capricorn. Like Toku, Ata was a haven of safety for the certain political refugees.

Ata was discovered and named Pylstaarts by Tasman in January, 1643, while he was voyaging northward from New Zealand to Tonga. No mention is made of signs of inhabitants and presumably it was not then occupied. Tongan tradition makes the peopling somewhat later.

By 1791 Ata was inhabited. Thomson (21), discussing the voyage of Captain Edwards in H. M. S. *Pandora*, says: "Running southward, he made Pylstaarts, at that time inhabited by Tongan castaways, and the fact that he did not stop to examine it, although he saw by the smoke that it was inhabited. . . ."

In the Voyage of the Duff (65, 66), Ata is mentioned as uninhabited, which would seem to be a mistake since it was already occupied in 1791. Speaking of the Spanish discoverer Fran. Ant. Maurelle who passed in March, 1781, the Voyage of the Duff says: "He also saw the high uninhabited spot, discovered and named Pylstaarts island by Tasman, in latitude 22° 22′, 175° 59′ west longitude. This he called La Sola."

West (62, p. 271) relates the following story about the peopling of Ata:

> . . . strange tales are told of one of their chiefs, called Uhila, whose cannibal propensities had been intensified by a long residence in Fiji. This chief resided at Nomuka; but he was in the habit of making sudden descents upon different islands, for the purpose of clubbing and kidnapping any of the inhabitants he could lay hold of, with whose

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

Hereditary.	*Toofoonga fo vdca*; canoe-builders.	Followed both by *matabooles* and *mooas*.	555
	Toofoonga fono le; cutters of whale-teeth ornaments.		461
	Toofoonga taboo; superintendants of funeral rites.		565
	Toofoonga ta maca; stone-masons, or makers of stone vaults.	Followed both by *mooas* and *tooas*.	[396]
	Toofoonga jia cobenga; net-makers.		[306]
	Toofoonga toty ica; fishermen.		[767]
	Toofoonga langafalle; large house-builders.		[324]
			[286]
Hereditary or not.	*Toofoonga ta tattow*; those who perform the tattow.		[226]
	Toofoonga tongi acow; club-carvers.		[331]
	Toofoonga fy cava; barbers or shavers with shells.		[305]
			[322]
Hereditary.	*Tangata fe oomoo*; cooks.	Followed only by *tooas*.	[306]
	Kyfonnooa; peasants.		[252]
			[241]

Property in these islands, as may easily be conjectured, consists principally in plantations, houses, and canoes, and the right of succession to it is regulated by the order of relationship, as given under the head of Nobles, p. 83, so in like manner is the right of succession to the throne. 421 428

Having now given a view of the rank of individuals in society, with reference to religion, civil government, and professional occupations; we have now to consider it in respect to old age, sex, and childhood. 128

Old persons of both sexes are highly reve- 888

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

888 renced on account of their age and experience, insomuch that it constitutes a branch of their first moral and religious duty, viz. to reverence the gods, the chiefs, and aged persons; and consequently there is hardly any instance in these islands of old age being wantonly insulted.

562 Women have considerable respect shewn to them on account of their sex, independent of the rank they might otherwise hold as nobles. They are considered to contribute much to the comforts and domestic happiness of the other sex, and as they are the weaker of the two, it is thought unmanly not to shew them attention and kind regard; they are therefore not subjected to hard labour or any very menial work.

562 565 Those that are nobles rank like the men according to the superiority of their relationship. If a woman not a noble is the wife or daughter of

562 a mataboole, she ranks as a mataboole; if she

565 be a noble, she is superior in rank to him, and

593 so are the children male and female; but in

576 domestic matters she submits entirely to his arrangements; notwithstanding this, however, she never loses the respect from her husband due to her rank, that is to say, he is obliged to perform the ceremony of *mo'ë-mo'ë* before he

[184] can feed himself. If the husband and wife are both nobles of equal rank, the ceremony of

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

Foreigners are exempted from all tributes, except those that are for the purpose of religious ceremonies, even though they occupy considerable plantations at Tonga: they also readily excuse foreigners for not according with their customs, or not paying respect to their gods; because, say they, they have gods of their own, and are not governed by our divinities. When any one is about to eat, he always shares out what he has to those about him, without any hesitation, and a contrary conduct would be considered exceedingly vile and selfish. At meals strangers or foreigners are always shewn a preference, and females are helped before men of the same rank, because they are the weaker sex and require attention. A number of such instances might be given if necessary, but these, it is presumed, are sufficient to demonstrate that the people of the Tonga islands are not only not selfish, but admire liberality, and are practically liberal.

In such a kind of mind as we have been describing, we may readily suppose that the sentiments of veneration and respect are felt to a considerable degree; and, accordingly, every

manded; they love to consider them as presents, and this sufficiently demonstrates the universal admiration of the sentiment of liberality. There are no officers appointed to see that the people pay their due quantity.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

mark of such sentiments is shewn to the gods, to chiefs, and aged persons. Actual impiety is little known among them: Finow (the late king) was, indeed, an impious character in many respects, but we have already seen how much the people wondered at his success. The same king was one day prevented from going out upon an expedition against the enemy, by one of his chiefs happening to sneeze, which is considered a bad omen. Finow, on a sudden, greatly exasperated, with raised arms, and clenched fists, exclaimed, in a loud voice, "Crowd, all ye gods, to the protection of these "people, nevertheless I will wreak my ven-"geance on them tenfold!" But this impious exclamation was heard with horror by every body. There is no necessity to dwell upon the respect that is universally paid to chiefs, for it forms the stable basis of their government; and, of course, cannot be allowed to be infringed upon: it is, in short, a superior sacred duty, the non-fulfilment of which it is supposed the gods would punish almost as severely as disrespect to themselves. The great veneration which they pay to aged persons is a very amiable trait in their character; and, though it is now kept up by old habit and custom, it must, no doubt, have arisen in the beginning from notions which would do honour to the most civilized

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

people; for it is not only to those who are old, both in years and wisdom, that such respect is paid, but every aged man and aged woman enjoys the attentions and services of the younger branches of society. Great love and respect for parents is another prominent mark of their character; and, indeed, it must be so, as it arises out of a two-fold motive: i. e. they pay respect on the score of parentage, and on that of superior chiefship or rank. Every chief also pays the greatest respect towards his eldest sister, which respect he shews in an odd way, but it is according to custom, viz. by never entering into the house where she resides; but upon what exact principle, except custom, Mr. Mariner has not satisfactorily learned.

The same principle of love and respect for parents and superiors engages every man to secure and defend his hereditary rights as another point of religious duty, and in honour to the memory of his ancestors, from whom he received them. By a farther extension of the same sentiment, he loves the island on which he was born, in particular, and all the Tonga islands generally, as being one country, and speaking one language. But the *amor patriæ*, in the more extended sense, cannot be supposed to prevail in a very high degree, for, having no wars with foreigners, the opportunities for the

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

399. Malimali loto: Smiling (in the) heart. 539 152 828

Satisfaction with what is one's own; self-satisfaction. The expression is said to have originated with the handsome man *(manaia)* Vainuku who lived in Eua where he had a little pool of water which he used as a mirror. When he saw the reflection of his handsome face the sight filled him with pleasure, made his heart smile. The pool itself was named *Malimali loto.*

400. Mata mea fooua: Seeing a new thing.

Indicative of the surprise and gratification experienced at beholding an unaccustomed sight. (See No. 267.)

401. Pauu afi mata: Mischievousness pulling down lower lid of the eye. 539 201 578 522

To pull down the lower lid of one's eye at a person is an insulting gesture; but this phrase refers apparently to one who should be so impudent as to do it to the eye of another, as for example a pert child treating thus his mother's eye. The expression means excessively impudent or mischievous.

402. Tuai e kemo: The wink (is) slow. 539 805

Instantaneous, very quick, literally much quicker than a wink of the eyes.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE

539

403. Finemotua fie finemui: Old woman wanting to be young woman. 561 888

A rebuke to the lady who refuses to grow old gracefully; but strives to cheat the advancing years with the adornments and manners that befit the young and fair.

404. Mata kovi ka nae fili ekita: Ugly but I chose myself. 539 832 581

The most direct application of this is to a man who has taken to wife a lady not specially dowered with beauty. She is not handsome, but she is the choice of her husband.

405. Uliuli a fine Eua: The dark complexion of a Eua woman. 539 832 562 184

The women of Eua were not reckoned beauties, but were well looked after and hard to come at. If a boat called at Eua the women would freely move about and perform the tasks incidental to the entertainment of the visitors, but at night were shut up and carefully guarded. The expression refers slightingly to these ladies, who, in spite of their lack of charm, were jealously watched.

406. Jiji a pakiji: The wiry man is lean. 539 826

The word *pakiji* means lean but strong. There is a certain redundancy in saying that such a strong wiry man is thin.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 836 302 585 565 Another explanation is that long locks were the sign of a betrothed maiden, and the expression means a maiden bethrothed by a chief who after all does not marry her. When finally she loses the virginal strands of hair it is not by being married to the chief she expected but by making a lowlier match. (See No. 459.)

539 262 585 **459. Ikai ha lu loloi:** Not a leaf cooked in oil.

Leaves of the taro and nowadays of the cabbage are frequently cooked with coconut and eaten. Used here as the symbol of the smallest and meanest kind of presentation of food. This phrase is not used alone, but as a completion of No. 458. The meaning is that the unfortunate girl has no sort of celebration; not even this trifling food gift falls to her share.

539 584 571 888 **460. See so:** Scaring off sweethearting.

Literally of a grave and reverend elder, or some such objectionable person, intruding on young men and maids. Thence of anyone "butting in" where he is not wanted.

539 584 829 **461. Vale pe he valeanga:** Foolish in the thing to be foolish about.

This refers to one who has been hard hit by the tender passion. A man madly in love may do many things that are not quite in accord with his customary well-balanced sanity, but what else is to be expected from a man in love? He is foolish, but under circumstances in which the whole world is apt to be a little less sane than usual.

539 584 **462. Viku ae malo o Afitu mo Lakepa:** The passion of Afitu and Lakepa is damped, or perhaps the praise of Afitu and Lakepa is damped, or perhaps the loin-cloth of Afitu and Lakepa is damped.

Whatever the literal translation the expression refers primarily to the disappointment suffered by the handsome (*manuia*) Lolo, son of the chief of Afitu, who had also some connection with Lakepa or its chiefly house. Lolo had been uniformly successful in love until one occasion when he was taking home in his boat a fair lady who preferred another gallant, named Lepuha of Leimatua in Vavau (Lolo also lived in Vavau it would seem), and who jumped overboard and swam ashore and joined her lover. Lolo's chagrin is expressed in this phrase.

[576] *Malo* is a common word for praise, thanks, and possibly the expression means that the praise of Afitu and Lakepa has had a set-back.

[291 584] *Malo* is also a small loincloth worn when one wants to be unencumbered with dress, as in fighting. The native cloth is spoiled by wetting, and so the expression may mean that the cloth is spoiled.

[826 834] Another meaning of *malo* is the bloom of the breadfruit tree, and the explanation which involves this signification is perhaps on the whole the best. The bloom of the breadfruit both from its shape and its function as a forerunner of fruit is likened to the membrum virile; and the expression is thus a very broad jest on the gallant's disappointment.

276 751 [514) *kava* is a mild diuretic. Villagers have plenty of opportunity to notice this effect of *kava* even if they are unclear as to any precise cause and effect relationship between this effect and alleged better health. One reason incidentally, that the villager gives for the rule that the *kava*-making girl should not herself drink is that it would be unseemly for her in the eyes of the men to leave the house frequently to urinate.

276 574 521 The topics that are discussed in the ordinary *kava*-circle are endless in their repetitive rehashing. The state of the cultivations, the gossip and scandal of the village, the strange ways of white people, news and rumour from other villages far and near, actions of government representatives from policemen to high officials, chance remarks heard from passing acquaintances on the island roads, religious doctrine and dogma, dreams and strange events— all these and many other topics are considered from every possible angle and [888) point of view. The older men carry on the discussion while the younger sit quietly and listen. Sometimes the discussion will be spirited with many taking part. At other times it will die down to muttered conversations between one or two men with others dozing or preoccupied with their own thoughts or busily rolling banana leaf cigarettes from the strong and pungent Tongan tobacco. A pause in conversation comes while a fresh round of *kava* is being made. Then discussion gathers new strength. And so it goes for hours on end, sinking and rising according to the spirits of the participants and the lateness of the hour. Younger men of the village obtain from these *kava*-discussions the elements of a liberal education both in the arts and in the crafts of village life. Sometimes the group will spend part of an [533) evening singing. The songs may be either church-hymns or ancient chants.

276 733 *Kava* is a mild narcotic. Excessive drinking often leads to what can well be termed mild cases of drug-addiction. Seven men and one woman are considered in the village to be extremely heavy drinkers whose continual desire for *kava* is in the nature of an obsession. Other men drink heavily at odd times, but not continuously. The results of addiction, according to informants, are personal laziness, physical weakness and domestic trouble. Night after night spent drinking *kava* is likely to leave the addict lazy and

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

extent, and form the chief source from whence evils arise, among church members, which require the exercise of discipline by the Missionaries.

The morals of the Tonguese were never so thoroughly debased as those of the Sandwich or Society Islanders, and other groups that might be named; but there was enough, nevertheless, to show how low humanity could fall, when without the restraints and sanctions of a Divine faith. Polygamy was common, the number of a man's wives depending upon his own inclination, and his ability to keep them. Some sentiments relative to connubial fidelity prevailed, which may be said to have bordered on morality; for, after the parties had lived together a while, mutually pleased, it was considered disgraceful to separate. There were also some, even among the better classes, who were content to live with one wife only; and examples of domestic happiness were by no means uncommon. Infanticide did not disgrace the history, and destroy the vitality of the Tonguese nation. Children were nurtured with great care and affection; and aged people were not subjected to the neglect and cruelty that was dealt out to such persons in Fiji and other Polynesian groups. Yet, with all this, there was much lasciviousness, and want of natural affection.

There can be no doubt as to the existence of cannibalism in these islands in former days. It never became so prevalent as it once was in New Zealand, nor so truly atrocious in its character, as it now is, or has been in very recent years, in the islands of Fiji. It was customary, however, in times of war; and strange tales are told of one

MACHIKO AOYAGI

1 The fourth son of 5 (twenty five years old in 1962):

He worked the *api tukuhau* of his wife's mother who received it from her second husband, and he resides in part of this *api tukuhau* with his wife and daughters.

17 The first son of 9 (twenty four years old in 1962):

He has neither *api tukuhau* nor *api kolo*. Before 1960 when he married, he had been working on his father's *api tukuhau*, and is now working on the *api tukuhau* of the Catholic Church. He had stayed with his parents until 1960 when the *api kolo* of his father's sister became vacant and he shifted his residence there, building his house by himself with coconut trunks and leaves given by his father.

19 The first son of 21 (twenty five years old in 1962):

Having no *api tukuhau*, he works on the land of his close friend. He received *api kolo* in 1961 from 32 who is his father's mother's brother, and built his house with materials from his father's land. His first son was born in 1960.

23 The third son of 28 (twenty six years old in 1962):

Having neither *api tukuhau* nor *api kolo*, he tills a portion of his father's land and expects that his elder brother who lives in another village will give him his *api tukuhau* located in Nukuleka. He had stayed in his father's household for a while after his marriage. Then, he and his wife moved to the house built by his elder brother in his *api kolo*.

Except for 14 and 19, the above householders have neither *api tukuhau* nor *api kolo*. To have one's own *api tukuhau* is not an indispensable condition to form an independent household, because in the Tongan way of life one can freely ask to borrow the land for cultivating from relations and friends. One can borrow even more freely *api kolo* for the purpose of building the house. Building a house is not expensive. It is easy to get from one's father, coconut trunks and leaves for pillars, roof and walls, and to build it oneself. Generally speaking, a man sets up his independent household a few years after his marriage. Based on the peculiar land system of the Kingdom and owing to the mutual aid among the relatives, the fission of a household takes place quite easily.

Supporting Old Parents

In the last phase of a family cycle an old couple or one of them will remain. However, in this village none of these old men and women keep their own households. One of their married children stays with them. There seems no rule about the person who stays at home in order to take care of the old parents.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

592 888 591

TABLE 3 — CHILDREN WHO STAY AND SUPPORT THEIR PARENTS AND NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS

1st son	2	(12, 32)
1st daughter	2	(21, 22)
2nd son	2	(5, 9)
4th son	1	(20)
Step-son	1	(34)

12 and 32 are the only boys of the parents. In case of 5, 9, 21 and 22 the first son has his own household in this village, and in case of 20 three of his elder brothers live in the next village. The next table traces the present whereabouts of married sons of the eleven households including eight examples in table 3.

[128]

TABLE 4 — PRESENT WHEREABOUTS OF MARRIED SONS AND NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS

	Living in another village	Keeping an independent household in this village	Staying with his parents	Unknown
1st son	8	4	2	1
2nd son	4	1	2	1

[591] Judging from table 3 and 4, it may be generalised that the grown-up children successively start to form their own households and a son, or sometimes a daughter, depending upon the circumstances, may be selected among younger siblings to remain at home, forming a patrilocal, or matrilocal in a few instances, extended family (according to G. P. Murdock's definition). It may be the youngest child, but not always. On the other hand, the old parents, especially widow or widower, move around at will. For example, a women over seventy years of age usually resides at 34 with the son of her husband with his previous wife, but stays also at 1 with the son of her husband's brother, and also visits Nuku'alofa quite often.

Discontinuity of the Households

592 428 The Tongan law prescribes that *api tukuhau* and *api kolo* should be inherited by the eldest son of the later holder. In other words the household is to continue by means of the patriocal extended family backed with the inheritance of the land, strictly speaking, the inheritance of the usufruct of the land. But in reality one tends to set up one's own household and can do so very easily, as mentioned above. People do not seem to be intent on continuing the household. A household will terminate when an old couple have no son or daughter to stay with, or when the members of a family break up on the divorce of the parents, or when an old widow or widower shifts the residence to one of the children. The fact that there is no important property to be inherited and no family name among

592 [551] [128]

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

scrupled at our most intimate connexions with their women for a very moderate price, and absolutely converted it into a fix'd article of trade to their no small emolument. It should not however be understood that this is without exception universal, as there are many women who either from their connections, natural timidity, or absolute aversion to such promiscuous engagements are not pregnable on any terms, independent of those who are understood to be married.

This extensive and gentle empire which Love has planted amongst them is so far from loosening that it cements the bands of Society. The sexes seem to live in the most perfect harmony undisturb'd by jealousy on either side,[1] and what is perhaps still more uncommon, that almost universal passion seems to be quite a stranger amongst the female part with respect to each other. Amongst the various lovers that present themselves it may be easily suppos'd a woman will soon discover, either from interest or desire, one whom she would wish to attach herself to, & he probably from her assiduity to please will be fix'd from roving, from whence it is not uncommon to see such cases before a lasting union is agreed on as far as we could perceive from circumstances. When that has taken place the domestic felicity seems to increase; for as they often become mothers at an early age their affection for their children and care in providing for them excites their industry in conjunction with that of the husband, and soon obliterates their wish for such unstable connections as before that period. When they cease to bear children they appear to gain instead of lose respect, and though they then appear to have some weight in the management of the younger sort it seems ultimately to be left to the decision of the men, who though absolute excercise their power in a very gentle manner except in a few cases.

Their mutual affection does not cease on this side of the grave, nor can they believe that death bereaves them of the merit of expressing their long grief by removing the object from their sight, and rendering it unsusceptible of the various proofs of their kindness. Nothing however does them greater credit nor can be a greater proof of their humanity than the concern the[y] show for and decent disposal of the dead. Their mourning is, to use a common expression, not in words but deeds, for besides the Tooge, burnt circles and scars mention'd before they beat the teeth with stone[s], strike a sharks tooth into the head untill the blood flows in streams and thrust spears into the inner part of the thigh, the sides below the armpits, and through the cheeks into the mouth—all operations that convey

[1] But cf. p. 96a below, where a commoner and a chief's wife were concerned.

There were three divisions in the Tongan Pantheon — the Tangaloa, gods in the sky, the Maui in the underworld (who caused earthquakes and gave other evidence of their power), and Hikule'o, who presided over Pulotu, the paradise in the west. The Tu'i Tonga was regarded as the high priest of Hikule'o and his wife, the Moheofo, was priestess or servant *(kaunanga)* of Hikule'o. The priests of the various deities professed to receive and utter oracles from the gods in trance-like experiences. Only the priests entered the gods' houses; the suppliants sat humbly outside. The priests were not always respected, especially when their statements did not suit influential interrogators. Tongans believed also in gods of natural forces (the winds, the sea, the harvest), gods of sacred places, and even creatures which frequented these places and were thought to embody the spirit of the ancestral chief of a neighbouring tribe.(10)

The offering of human sacrifice by strangulation, when a chief or a member of his family was threatened with death, was never practised as frequently as in Fiji and became less common as time went on; instances, however, were recorded by Mariner during his sojourn in Tonga (1806-10) and by missionaries later. The victim was generally a youth, the child of one of the chief's secondary wives. Instead of a life it became customary to amputate fingers and offer these as substitute sacrifices. Cook wrote,

"There was scarcely one in ten I did not find mutilated in one or more hands." (11)

George Tupou I (c. 1797-1893) had lost two little fingers in his youth. When a chief died, women cut their hair and beat their cheeks until they were covered with blood, and men wounded themselves with clubs and spears, to show their sorrow and their devotion to the deceased. The more savage practices found in Fiji, such as cannibalism, infanticide, and the premature burying of the very old, were practically unknown in Tonga. There was indeed a great respect for the aged and a strong affection for children. Cannibalism, in imitation of Fijian customs, was practised in the Civil Wars which began in 1799, but it was regarded with utter abhorrence in normal times.

• • • •

Tonga's usually orderly and pleasant existence continued through the centuries until the early 17th Century when the first contact was made with Europeans who, in the people's phrase, burst through the skies with their tall ships; hence the word for Europeans, *Papālangi*, or sky-bursters. This happened first in the distant northern islands of Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou. Jan Schouten and Jacob Lemaire came in two ships around Cape Horn searching for what was expected to be a great southern continent in the vast expanse of the South Pacific Ocean. On 9 May 1616 the Dutchmen saw a canoe with about twenty-five people; these were Tongans whose first knowledge of the outside world was the firing of warning shots. The Dutchmen followed the canoe to Tafahi and the adjacent island, Niua Toputapu. The visitors did not land on either. Surprised at the appearance of human beings so different from themselves and ships so unlike their canoes, the people attempted to steal one of the ships' boats during the trading for vegetables and other supplies. When the vessels were going across from Tafahi to Niua Toputapu, a large fleet of canoes attacked the ships with stones. No fatalities occurred then, but, during the subsequent visit of the Dutchmen to Niua Fo'ou, the island to the west, two Tongans were killed when trying to capture one of the ships' boats. It was an unhappy introduction to the Tongans' contact with Europeans.

/106 cont./ The clergymen who conduct the numerous church services and preside over the banquets (faka-afe) have been given an important position in the village community. They may be followed in the new social hierarchy by the teachers who impart to the young the knowledge which is so esteemed, and the physicians (medical practitioners /cited in English/) who are experienced in the healing art of whites and know how to handle their instruments, medicines and pills in a manner secretly admired by a large part of the community. But there is also many a Tongan who does not hold an office yet plays an influential role because of his personal ability and skill (in his work as well as in his dealings with his fellow-villagers) and he can, especially in connection with acquired wealth, achieve greater respect in the village than that given to (usually younger) teachers and physicians. Old people are, as always, respected. People listen to their advice, and they have a superior position, especially vis-a-vis, the young. No major building project is carried out without the presence of a group of older Tongans who, in the form of a kava gathering, acknowledge and sanction the work of the younger ones. Oddly enough, the Tongan traders who have their small (retail) shops in the villages and have, after all, quantities of desirable goods in their possession, /107/ do not experience the great respect that is shown them in present-day Samoa, for example. However, if the merchant is a very special person he--along with his activity--will be respected accordingly. (297)

297. For example, the Tongan V., a pensioned teacher in 'Uiha, has a small shop; he is accorded more respect for his former position and popularity than for his present activity. The native S., also a former teacher, has two shops on Nomuka; he has a prominent place in the village community because he taught many men and women in their youth, for which reason he enjoys almost general popularity; also, the running of his shops is psychologically adroit and attuned to the mentality